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## THE BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT.<sup>1</sup>

GEORGE H. McCAFFREY.

The history of Boston police administration goes back only to 1854, when the first body of uniform police was established. This establishment was modeled on the Metropolitan Police of London and consisted of about two hundred and fifty men. During the years prior to 1854, police administration had been in the hands of a body known as the City Watch, which traced its beginnings back to the founding of Boston. The Watch was a semi-voluntary body, notable for its sleepiness and inefficiency in any sort of emergency. It was fortunate that a change was made in 1854, for the troubles of the Civil War period were soon at hand and the work of the police greatly augmented in consequence.

All appointments to the police force were made at first by the mayor and aldermen, the patrolmen being paid two dollars a day and holding office simply during the pleasure of those who appointed them. This system worked very unsatisfactorily, however, because places on the police force were invariably bestowed as a reward for partisan activity. In 1878, therefore, the control of the force was given to a board of three men appointed for five years by the mayor and confirmed by the aldermen. Even this change did not eliminate politics sufficiently and seven years later the revised charter of Boston transferred the power of appointing the three men to the governor of the state, in whose hands it has since remained. Admission to the police force also was placed on a civil service basis in 1885 and a probationary period for reserve men was introduced in 1887. The last important change was made in 1906, when the police commission of three members was abolished and a single commissioner, with an independent licensing board of three men, was established in its place.

The Boston police have authority over a territory of 40.63 square miles and patrol 514 miles of streets. Certain jurisdiction is also exercised over Boston Harbor. There are fifteen divisions for the land territory and one for the harbor. Each division has its own station-house and two of the suburban divisions have sub-stations also. Besides these stations there are the Headquarters, the House of Detention for Women, and the City Prison. The hierarchy of officers in Boston con-

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<sup>1</sup>This article is the substance of the author's essay which won the Baldwin prize offered by the National Municipal League.

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sists of superintendent, deputy superintendent, chief inspector, captain, inspector, lieutenant, sergeant, patrolman and reserveman. Each division is commanded by a captain, assisted by two lieutenants and from four to eight sergeants, while the number of patrolmen assigned to each station varies from forty-eight to one hundred and six. Reservemen are divided impartially between all stations, not sent mainly to the residential districts.

Men enter the Boston police force by becoming reservemen. Appointments of reservemen are made by the commissioner from the lists of the successful candidates at the state civil service examinations, which examinations, by the way, are more difficult than those for the same department in other Massachusetts cities. They consist of both physical and mental tests, with an investigation of the candidate's character and antecedents. The physical requirements demand that the candidate be not less than twenty-five nor more than thirty-three years of age and not less than five feet, eight inches in height and 140 pounds in weight. The physical examination is very thorough and the candidate has no reasonable hope of appointment unless he secures the equivalent of over one thousand points in the Sargent anthropometric scale. The mental examination consists of elementary tests in simple arithmetic, writing, police duties and city geography. Anyone who has had a fair primary education ought to be able to pass easily. The minimum pass mark is sixty-five, but the successful candidates almost invariably attain a mark of over seventy-five per centum.

When the commissioner desires to appoint some reservemen, the civil service commission sends him the names, records and examination books of about twice as many candidates as there are vacancies. These names are read, and posted in every station-house for ten days and all the police officers of the city are given the very disagreeable but necessary task of sending to the commissioner any unfavorable information which they may possess about the candidates whose names are posted. When this time has expired, the police commissioner calls the candidates before him and holds an interview with each. The new reservemen are finally chosen after this interview, and, while the examination record is highly important, the commissioner gives considerable weight also to the opinion which he has formed at these interviews. I am satisfied from talking with men in and out of the department that political influence has had no part in the appointment of reservemen since 1906.

Immediately upon appointment, the reservemen must provide themselves with regulation uniforms and all equipment except keys, badge, revolver and club, which are furnished by the department. The cloth

for uniforms is supposed to be bought from the department, which keeps a stock on hand, but many Boston police officers believe that cloth of as good quality can be had from private dealers much more cheaply. These dealers would be unable to supply the whole department at the same rates, therefore the present system is likely to continue.

New reservemen are put on the first night tour of duty with a sergeant or experienced patrolman. They are given superficial instruction in the laws, ordinances, police rules and simple military evolutions. Legally, after six months of this probationary work, a reserveman may be promoted to the rank of patrolman, but practically a longer period is required, because vacancies are not available at the right time. The routine of the Boston department is very similar to that existing in any other large American city. Boston, however, has always used the three-platoon system as distinguished from the five-platoon system which General Bingham devised for New York City and installed there. The five-platoon system has great administrative advantages in that it retains a large reserve, gives rotation of duty and puts no patrolman on duty more than six hours at a time. The opposition of the married men and those who now have the more cherished day tours, will probably prevent its adoption for the present, and the inconvenience arising from the short periods of leisure under the three-platoon system is alleviated by the day off in fifteen for all members of the department. The present system, however, is not working up to its full efficiency at present, because the department is somewhat undermanned and a considerable doubling up of routes is necessary whenever any exceptional demands are made upon the force. One patrolman sometimes covers three ordinary routes in the suburban districts, which means that he can visit some places not more than once in a whole tour of duty. Moreover, when large details are necessary for parades and other similar assignments, it sometimes happens that in the business district the station reserve is reduced to two or three men, which is far below the minimum of safety.

An excellent part of the Reorganization Act of 1906 was that in regard to the vexatious problem of rewards and punishments. It was provided that complaints against officers could be dismissed by the commissioner if he deemed them trivial, but if serious he should submit them to a trial board of three captains, changed from time to time, whose findings the former should review and act upon at his discretion. Unwarranted and flimsy complaints are now thrown out by the commissioner without the expense of a trial and since the punishment is no longer light and the percentage of convictions high, the men regard a trial more seriously than formerly. The success of the new system is

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due in part to the change in the method of punishment inaugurated in 1906. Starting with the principle that the best conduct is always expected, Commissioner O'Meara abolished the system of rewards and medals entirely. Punishment by fines was changed into an equivalent in extra duty, so distributed that the officer is not overworked. This method resembles the German; few German policemen are ever discharged, but there is a system of punishment by discipline and even by imprisonment. The officer's family, under the new Boston system, no longer suffers for his fault, and he himself becomes the object of concentrated, bitter ridicule from his fellow officers rather than of sympathy as formerly. In addition to these moral advantages, the department gains considerable free service. Baltimore also punishes many men by depriving them of their leave of absence for thirty days annually.

In spite of having more signal boxes in proportion to its size than any other city in the world, Boston is still troubled slightly by the men going into "holes" for a short rest or to get warm. It is not possible to expect a man to do a tour of eight hours' duty without any rest on many nights, especially in winter, and most patrolmen and sergeants have such places, but the unwritten rule that the practice shall not be abused is seldom broken, and, until it is, few superior officers report offenders. If a man is discovered to be in the habit of going into a "hole" too often, he fares very badly when brought before the trial board.

In every city the police duties are numerous and varied, but they are probably more so in Boston than in any other large American city, because of the extra functions laid upon the force by state laws. Boston, for example, is the only large city in the country, except Baltimore, where the police are required to do work in connection with the listing of voters and the supervision of elections. Eight years ago the first of these tasks was taken from the municipal assessors, who did their work inefficiently and in a partisan spirit, and was intrusted to the police. Since that time the police have done the work and on no occasion has the slightest complaint of unfairness arisen. The law requires that the listing shall be done by house-to-house visits during the first seven week days of April, but it has never taken more than four or five days. The work of listing the 215,000 voters requires, on an average, the time of 660 men for five days, but this large detail is not allowed to interfere with the regular routine of the department, which means that the patrolmen not engaged in doing the listing must perform the regular work. The other political duty which is laid upon the Boston police department is that of enforcing the election laws.

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Police officers take the ballot boxes, check lists and other voting paraphernalia from the office of the election commissioners to all of the two hundred and five polling places in the city. They inspect the ballot box before voting begins and have possession of the key throughout the day, opening the box only at the order of the poll warden to perform a necessary mechanical operation, such as pressing down the ballots. They watch all the proceedings from the opening to the close of the polls, and the final returns are intrusted to them for personal delivery to the election commissioners. The patrolmen are likewise furnished with lists of all registered voters who are likely to be absent from the polls because of sickness or other disability, and this list they consult constantly to prevent fraudulent voting. All this is work which in no other large American city is laid upon the police officers, yet the duty has been discharged in Boston with entire satisfaction, even during election campaigns when personal and partisan feeling ran very high throughout the city.

Another function which the legislature placed upon the Boston police in 1907 is that of helping the election commissioners make up the list for jury service. Names of citizens drawn for jury duty are given to the police, who investigate the records of every one of them. During the last three years, 26,000 Boston citizens have been investigated by policemen in person in regard to mental, moral or other disqualifications for jury service. It is interesting to know that, although the election commissioners take due care to keep off the lists persons who are in any way deficient, the police have found among these 26,000 persons 400 with criminal records, nearly 2,500 who were either dead or had left the city and over 2,000 who were unfit for mental, physical or other reasons. In all, 5,181, or about 20 per centum of the names selected for jury service in Suffolk County, were proved by police investigation to be deficient in some necessary qualification for a juror. The noticeable improvement in the caliber of the jurors in the Superior Court of Suffolk County during these years is due very largely to the care taken by the police in this investigation of the jury list.

Other departments which make large demands upon the Boston police are the health and street departments. The street commissioners have authority to make street traffic regulations, but the whole brunt of their enforcement falls upon the police officers, as could readily be seen by anyone who watched the operations of the new rules relating to street traffic in the business district which went into force about three years ago. In the months immediately following the enactment of these new rules, prosecutions by the police in this matter alone averaged nearly five hundred a month. Similarly the board of health uses the

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services of five patrolmen constantly and at times those of a good many more. It ought to be mentioned also that the police department grants annually over 25,000 miscellaneous licenses and is expected to see that the terms of all these licenses are respected by their holders. From all this it will be seen that the duties of the Boston police department are not limited to the simple functions of preserving law and order, but that its work is closely related to that of at least a half dozen other departments of the city government.

Policing a big city costs money, and in Boston the cost last year was well over \$2,000,000. Reckoned in terms per head of population, the cost was \$3.31; in other words, police protection costs more than twenty-seven cents per month for every man, woman and child in the city. This is greater than the per capita cost in any other large American city, except New York. In Chicago the per capita cost is \$2.92 per annum, in Baltimore only \$2.27. If one figures the cost in terms per acre also, Boston stands highest on the list, and so again if one reckons the cost in terms per mile of streets patrolled. On the other hand, if the computation is made in terms per thousand dollars of assessed valuation, the cost in Boston is smaller than in the other cities, with the exception of Pittsburgh. (This basis for comparison is of doubtful value, because of the wide variations between real and assessed value in different cities, for example, Chicago, but the Census Bureau uses it.) For every thousand dollars of assessed valuation in Boston, \$1.75 per annum is levied for police purposes. The higher cost in Boston may be accounted for in several ways. Unlike other American cities, Boston is surrounded by a large and thickly populated suburban belt, with much of its traffic centering in Boston, and this traffic makes heavy demands upon the police of this city. The liberal provisions relating to patrolmen's vacations, moreover, and the heavy cost of pensions, amounting last year to over \$135,000, are items not appearing in the accounts of other cities, most of which have either no pension system at all, or a system whose cost is not borne directly by the city.

Then the equipment of the Boston police is unquestionably better than that of most other cities. In the matter of signal boxes, patrol wagons and personal accouterments, Boston is better provided than any other city in the world, not excepting metropolitan London, the police system of which is everywhere referred to as a model. If Boston pays well for its police establishment, it undoubtedly receives, when compared with other cities at home and abroad, full value for every dollar spent.

An interesting but rather unofficial body in the Boston police is the Boston Social Club, incorporated in 1906. The purpose of its found-

ers was to promote a feeling of brotherhood in the department, among the file, and to give them an opportunity to hear prominent men speak on subjects relating to police work. Membership is open to all patrolmen, but they must drop out upon promotion. The club is at present large and flourishing and holds regular, well-attended meetings. The purpose of promoting a feeling of brotherhood has been fulfilled by bringing together men who would otherwise never get acquainted. The club is to be commended for the speakers it has had, among whom were ex-Governor Bates and President Emeritus Eliot of Harvard.

A line of activity of more doubtful value, into which the club has been led, is the pushing of the wants of patrolmen. It was wholly through the work of this body (as a body, however, not individually) that the legislature in 1907 granted the force one day off in fifteen; and it is this body also which is behind the present movement to have the pay raised for all ranks below that of captain. There has not been the slightest hint of a bribery fund in the Social Club, such as has disgraced similar organizations in other cities, and I sincerely hope that this kind of activity will not become so prominent that it will be necessary to dissolve a unique organization, otherwise very commendable.

For twenty-six years the Boston police have been under state control. The change to this form of supervision was made in 1885 for the simple reason that the interests of the whole commonwealth were being injured by the mismanagement of police affairs in Boston. Political influence then ran the department in all its branches; officers were appointed, removed and transferred without any reference to their own personal qualifications. Vice flourished in many forms all over the city, and, when public opinion was stirred, it was soon calmed again by perfunctory "roundups." In twenty-six years all this has passed away. Political "pull" is of absolutely no account in the police organization of to-day; there is not a single gambling house of any account in Boston and the laws relating to the sale of liquor can no longer be violated with impunity. The system of state control may be an encroachment on the principle of "home rule," but there can be no doubt whatever that since its adoption it has brought about a most marked improvement in every branch of Boston's police administration. The credit for the improvement that has been made is due particularly to the system of control through a single commissioner rather than by a partisan board. The bi-partisan board, as it exists in Baltimore, is pernicious in principle, for it rests upon the idea that politics must be brought into police departments and that, therefore, both political parties should have representation. Bi-partisan police boards have invariably been the cause of friction and sometimes of demoralization. The board of commis-



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sioners which existed in Boston until 1906 managed to create a fairly good department, but the single commissioner, who has supervised police affairs since that date, has noticeably raised the standard of efficiency, has absolutely eliminated the influence of politics in appointments, and has united the men as they never had been before.

It has often been remarked that popular feeling toward the policeman differs very fundamentally from that displayed toward the fireman. The reason for the difference is doubtless to be found in the fact that the fireman is required to show only physical courage, while the policeman must display not only physical, but also moral courage. Police efficiency is after all much more a matter of moral courage and intelligence than of physical capability. That is why efficiency tests such as should determine the promotion of patrolmen are very difficult to frame satisfactorily. In Boston the promotion system is based in part upon examinations. When sergeants are to be made the superintendent asks the captains to send him the names of efficient patrolmen. These men are passed upon by the superintendent, are looked over by the commissioner and are then examined physically and mentally by the civil service commission. The promotions are made from the successful candidates. This system of promotions, a good many officers believe, is by no means as good as it might be. Since only the captains and superintendents can send men up for examination, there is room for favoritism; men in the good graces of their superiors can get promoted, while men in their bad graces, no matter how efficient, can get little chance. That this defect has been recognized by the commissioner is seen in the recent order to recommend for examination no patrolmen who have been serving as station clerks.

The promotion system might be much improved by opening the examination to all candidates, making it more practical and shifting the opinions of the captains to the last step before promotion. This might be attempted in the following way: first, eliminate all who cannot pass the present physical examination with 75 per centum; secondly, give the remainder a mental test, consisting of a written examination on practical police reports, mathematics, and an oral test of the officer's knowledge of police rules, court procedure, and the handling of various emergencies; and, thirdly, have an independent civil service investigation of the moral character of each man, with a view to determining police efficiency and fitness for command. The grade should be worked out on the basis of three-eighths for the oral and moral, and one-eighth each for the physical and written tests. This grade and an efficiency record consisting of the officer's court record, the condition of his post, and complaints and commendations of his work ought to be submitted to the

commissioner; he should interview each man, make tentative selections, ask the opinions of all the superiors under whom these men have served, and then make his final selections. The London police have such a system and it works there with great success.

Governor Guild advocated the change from the bi-partisan police board to a single commissioner and the establishment of a licensing board, primarily because the existing system violated the legal principle that judicial and executive functions should not be given to the same body and violated, also, the maxim of practical experience that inefficiency follows divided control. The old board granted licenses and enforced the regulations supposedly, but to subject a single commissioner to the enormous pressure which would be put upon him if he had the power to grant liquor licenses was deemed inadvisable, even if he could do it and manage the police department, too. A licensing board of three, representing two political parties, was, therefore, established with power to grant and revoke liquor licenses. The board is appointed by the governor and his council for a term of six years, one member retiring every two years. The chairman receives a salary of \$4,000 and the other two members \$3,500, all paid by the city. The police now merely report violations to the board for a hearing.

A brief sketch of the real situation of the liquor traffic in Boston will show the workings of this scheme. The breweries of Boston control almost half of the saloons through their financial relations with the ostensible proprietors. The licensing board can grant only one thousand saloon licenses and promises to continue them during "good behavior." This has resulted in a monopoly price of \$11,000 for a license although the fee is but \$2,200. Few men entering the saloon business can spare this amount of capital, but breweries are willing to advance what they need in return for their trade, and also to find a license for them. If a license should be revoked permanently, the brewery obviously would lose what it had advanced as well as the trade of the saloon. A saloonkeeper in trouble, therefore, goes to his brewer, the brewer to the appropriate political center (most brewers are Republicans), and the license is not revoked. The practice now is to punish flagrant violations by suspension of the license for one or two months. In justice to the licensing board it must be said that the laws make an incontestably legal conviction very difficult, but such is the system which permits the second-class "hotels" that are a disgrace to the city; such is the system that cannot prevent the sale of liquor to seventeen-year-old schoolboys and allows such saloons as Piscopo's, the Venice, the Hayward Café, Bringham's Café, Higgins's and several other grottos to continue their ex-

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istence and gives some justification to the attacks of the yellow journals which are misdirected at the police.

To remedy these conditions I would recommend that the licensing board be made non-partisan; that the salaries be raised so that men of the very highest caliber can devote their whole time to the work; that the board be given wide discretionary authority over the revocation of all licenses granted by it; and that in any case it make no more promises of continuance during good behavior. This would involve a departure from the policy of protecting the license holders by complicated statutes, which make the closing of such saloons very difficult for the police, although they know very well the conditions that exist in them. In short I would give the board power to "spank" a license holder at will, for I do not think legal restrictions can possibly cope with the problem.

Houses of prostitution, or "ranches," as they are familiarly called, ran undisturbed excepting for occasional "roundups" of no real sincerity until 1900. In the "nineties" it was the custom of the police commissioners and captains of the divisions to escort parties of society men and women and even governors of the state on Saturday night "slumming tours" through the "dance halls" of the North End, which was then the headquarters, but not the only center for prostitution. This was certainly a daring exhibition of how well the law was not enforced by those responsible. On January 13, 1900, Patrolman George H. McCaffrey, of Division 1, North End, was assigned to the task of cleaning out these "dance halls," and took as his assistant, Patrolman James McDevitt. Then began a campaign on the social evil the equal of which has not been seen before nor since in the department. McCaffrey prosecuted almost two hundred persons for vice under the legal charges of night walking, keeping houses of ill fame, being idle and disorderly, and drunkenness, besides numerous cases of illegal liquor-selling and gambling made in the very teeth of the corrupt liquor squad. Seven cases of drunkenness were discharged; all the others were convicted. So many diseased women were sent to Deer Island Prison that a new syphilitic ward had to be opened there. In the face of opposition from fellow officers and obstacles placed in their way by superiors, in spite of threats of physical violence of all sorts, in spite of offers of bribes ranging up to \$2,000 apiece from a single "keeper," these two officers closed every one of the "dance halls" tight by February 27, 1900. A feature of McCaffrey's prosecutions was the almost unheard of conviction of five men arrested as night walkers. The prostitutes still out of jail took refuge in the drinking cafés and second-class "hotels," but so persistent and skillful were McCaffrey's efforts that customers became thoroughly scared, the saloon business was practically at a standstill and the brew-

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ery interests, therefore, were touched. Then on April 7, 1900, Officer McCaffrey was taken off this duty. The "dance halls" have not returned since they were closed at this time, but the second-class "hotels" and saloons which had become law-abiding are now carrying on the devil's traffic in human flesh much as before.

This short sketch of eleven weeks' work by two men shows what can be done by able, fearless police officers, if given a reasonably free hand. I do not think any policy can eradicate the social evil; nor can it be effectively repressed, excepting temporarily and sporadically, as in the above case, unless there is a thoroughgoing support of the policy by the whole force. This is certainly not the case at present with some officers of the department, as conditions in such resorts will convince any fair-minded observer. The difficulties of successful legal prosecution are great, the attitude of the courts is sometimes discouragingly lenient, but I think that if the sincere desire were in their hearts the division commanders could have accomplished more than they have. Whether this attitude arises from the idea that regulated vice is better than the present system of repression, or from corruption, I am not prepared to state, but regulated vice will never be tolerated by public opinion in Boston.

Conditions are of late improving slowly but surely and with increasing speed; "slumming tours" are gone, the "dance halls," too, and gone is the real but perverted wit with which newspaper reporters noted the convictions of McCaffrey's "pets" eleven years ago. Commissioner O'Meara having been reappointed for another five-year term, I look for his policy of unheralded, steady and persistent prosecution of the social evil to have increasing success as the department becomes more and more convinced of the sincerity and soundness of it and perhaps not many years will have passed before that state of affairs will be reached when the modernization of vice by the use of telephones will oblige the police to turn over this work to private societies.

The glaring sensational criticism piled upon Commissioner O'Meara by the *Boston Traveler* and the *Boston American* a few months ago in regard to his policy on the social evil was quite undeserved and did more harm than good by the publicity given this most disgusting subject. Two things I should like to recommend are the prohibition of women and men drinking together in low-class cafés, which now are to all intents and purposes but houses of assignation, and the prosecution and the hounding in every possible way of the male companions of prostitutes, than which nothing was a greater deterrent to these beasts during the North End campaign of 1900. The second of these recommendations could be better performed than it is now under the existing laws;

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the first will need the grant of power which I recommend for the licensing board.<sup>2</sup>

The European conception of police functions is both positive and repressive, the American only repressive. This fact makes true comparison difficult. There, also, the legislative distinction between vice and crime, which is not drawn in America, contributes greatly to efficiency by removing temptation.

Both France and Germany maintain firm state control, but leave much to the municipal executives. The state in France always appoints the police chief, the burgermeister usually does it in the smaller German cities, the national government in the larger. The Continental personnel is inferior, man for man, to the American, but better disciplined because drawn from ex-soldiers, a fact which puts an army record behind the seeming appointment by merit. The German superior officers are selected by a long, excellent, theoretical and practical training system. Police duties are heavier abroad, but the thorough and helpful system of registering everybody's movements would be intolerable here. The social evil is regulated by registering prostitutes and restricting them to certain districts, Paris has a special squad system, which is efficient, but experience with liquor squads would deter Boston from adopting it.

The London Metropolitan Police is not only the oldest, but the largest and best force in the world. Since 1900 many innovations have been made and the *esprit de corps* greatly raised. The department is controlled directly by the Home Secretary, who appoints a single, unprofessional commissioner for an indefinite term at a salary of 2,000 pounds. This commissioner has complete charge of the system. Men are appointed who satisfy easy mental, moral and physical requirements; they are given thorough instructions in an excellent school and for promotion in either the regular or the detective force must pass only a severe, practical, oral examination. The pay in all ranks is lower than in Boston, which explains largely the reason why London supports twice as large a force at less expense than New York. Most European forces have pension systems, that in London being two-thirds for incapacitation or for twenty years' service. The "section houses" are comfortable homes for the unmarried men, and the gymnasiums attached are used

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<sup>2</sup>Since the above was written some of the recommendations of the author in regard to the treatment of the social evil and the liquor traffic have become a part of the stated policy of the licensing board in Boston. For instance, a recent order has prohibited music in some second-class hotels and certain restrictions have been placed upon serving young, unattended women. It may be added, also, that some public men in Boston are beginning to place the blame for immorality upon the licensing board, where it belongs, rather than upon the police.

by the men, which is not the case in Boston; the men carry no arms; there are no signal boxes, but a very thorough inspection system; and there are no "hurry-up" wagons or police ambulances.

The national government pays four-ninths of the cost of all police in England, but it controls all excepting London by inspection only. The English borough police are controlled by the local borough watch committee, which controls policies, pay and methods. The actual administration is in the hands of a professional chief constable, appointed by the council on merit and removable at will. The organization is modeled after that of London, and, although scandals are not unknown, the police have been fairly efficient, since in recent years no borough has lost the national subsidy.

American police departments are modeled after that of New York, which adopted the main features of the English system in 1844. The New York department, numbering about 10,000 men, is the largest and most highly organized in America. Since police problems and costs increase directly with the density of population, it has seemed best to me to confine my comparisons mainly to the six largest cities after New York and to emphasize among these St. Louis and Baltimore, which are not only nearest Boston in size, but are also under state control. Baltimore and St. Louis still have state appointed boards and thus lag behind Boston and New York with their single commissioners. The organization in these three cities is almost the same; Baltimore has "rounds sergeants," while in Boston the squad sergeants are considered sufficient safeguards for efficient patrolling. St. Louis has many mounted men, because its parks are patrolled by the municipal police, while in Boston much of the park system is patrolled by a state body, the Metropolitan Park Police. All appointments in Baltimore are made after municipal civil service examinations, but in Boston the civil service is state controlled, while St. Louis has no regular civil service examination system. Data for an efficiency test based on arrests and convictions not being available, I have tried to compare these cities by the number of complaints made and substantiated against police officers. Chart III shows that Boston is the most efficient in this respect, and Baltimore, with the smallest force, the worst. This fact, and the general satisfaction of the men with the Boston system, would seem to show that, safeguarded as it is by making the trial board merely a jury and the commissioner a judge, the advantages from the administrative point of view of allowing a judicial appeal would outweigh any greater security it might give an officer. The police boards in St. Louis and Baltimore still hold all trials and the number of dismissals in St. Louis is very large, perhaps because of the lack of civil service examina-

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tions for appointment. Transfers and reductions in rank are seldom used as means of punishment in Boston.

The number of arrests would not be a fair basis of comparison, because Boston in its metropolitan character is heavily burdened; its arrests in 1910 were 71,201, more than double the number in each of the other two cities, and including 32,650 foreigners and non-residents. Though the anomalous conditions thus created give Boston much heavier work than the other two cities, so far as I have been able to learn, neither of them has been successful in handling either the license problem or the social evil. St. Louis in the last two years has improved the liquor situation owing to a threatened wave of prohibition, which frightened the brewers. The fact that the Governor of Maryland recently preferred serious charges against the Baltimore commissioners would seem to show that there is room for improvement there.

A consideration of the costs and density of patrols offers some interesting comparisons. Chart I has already been explained and shows Boston's department to be the most costly in proportion to its size. Chart II shows that Boston's streets are more thickly patrolled than those of any other city; Baltimore alone shows more men to the acre, and St. Louis more to the inhabitant, because of its larger force. Pittsburgh, it will be noticed, makes a fair showing on Chart I and a correspondingly bad one on Chart II. If Boston is not sufficiently policed (cf. *supra*), what must the condition of the other cities be? The rate of pay is higher in Boston than in any other large American city except New York, and compared with the London rates is very high, but from this must be subtracted such items as the cost of uniforms.

The Chicago pension system is typical of that in many American cities. The funds are raised from minor license fees, fines of members and deductions from their pay. The pensions are given for permanent disability, a large fixed term of service, usually to the dependents of officers killed in the discharge of duty, and sometimes to men honorably discharged, but in needy circumstances. The Boston system of direct payment by the city is superior in that it removes all chances of corruption of members in raising funds for this purpose and imposes no burden upon them.

The facts stated show, I think, that Boston has a very excellent police force, perhaps the best in America, among those compared, and a few years will see the passing of those superior officers in Boston who, through early training or other causes, are not inclined to aid to the utmost every effort of their subordinates. Boston pays highest for her department, but after all this is a very good way to get efficiency. Its department is indubitably superior to those of surrounding cities and

GEORGE H. McCaffrey

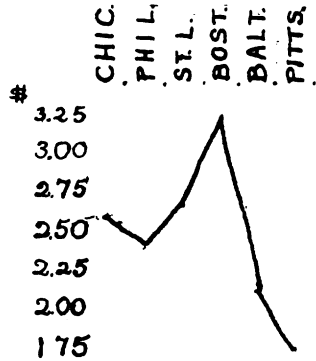
towns, which will therefore benefit largely in police protection if "Greater Boston" should be created, as now seems probable. Should this occur, it will become possible to try some of the innovations in police instruction which have worked so well in London, but which the size of the Metropolitan Police makes possible on a scale not feasible in the smaller American departments, a fact which I think is not always sufficiently appreciated by reformers.

If anybody is discouraged because of the present conditions I would advise him to remember that, although we have had police forces only since 1829, and that although the conditions of modern city life and the great modern inventions have created problems far more complex than existed a century ago, the police are already efficient abroad, and that at home they are improving. It has become my firm conviction while I was preparing this contribution that an efficient and honest police force, a luxury to-day, will be a necessity of every American city to-morrow.

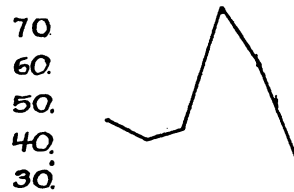


COMPARATIVE POLICE STATISTICS.  
1907-08.

COST  
PER  
CAPITA



COST  
PER  
ACRE



COST PER  
\$1,000 OF  
ASSESSED  
VALUATION



AVERAGE  
COST PER  
EMPLOYEE

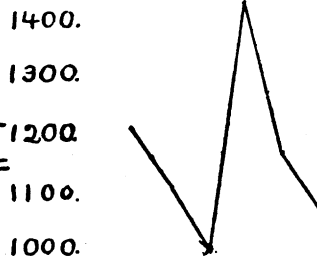
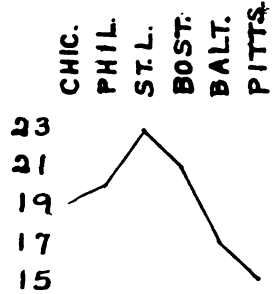


CHART I.

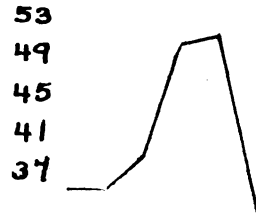
COMPARATIVE POLICE STATISTICS.

1907-08.

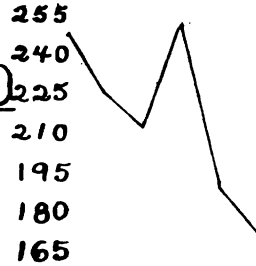
NUMBER  
OF POLICE  
PER 10,000  
INHABITANTS



PER 1,000  
LAND ACRES



TO 100 MILES  
OF IMPROVED  
STREETS



TO 100 MILES  
OF ALL  
STREETS

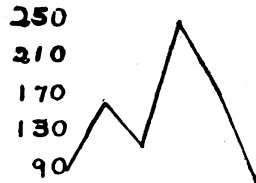


CHART II.

POLICE TRIALS, 1908-10.

AVERAGE  
FORCE.

AVERAGE  
COMPLAINTS.

AVERAGE  
CONVICTIONS.

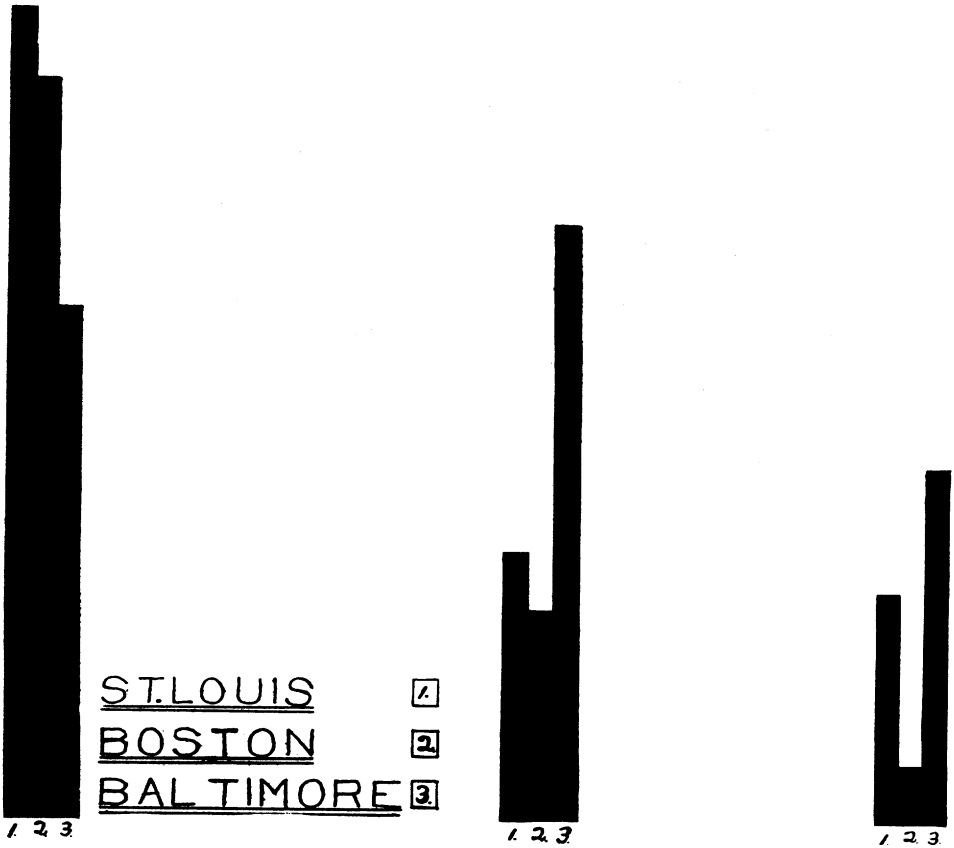


CHART III.

# COMPARATIVE SALARIES

RANK	BOSTON	BALTIMORE	ST. LOUIS	CHICAGO	PHILA.	PITTS.	NEW YORK	LONDON
FIRST OFFICER	\$ 4000.	\$ 3400.	\$ 5000	\$ 8000.	4500	4000		3041
SECOND "	3000.	2800.	3800	5000.	2500	2000		
THIRD "	2800.		3500	3800	2100.	1800.		
CAPTAIN	2500.	2080.	2400	2250.		1380	2750.	1339.
LIEUTENANT	1600.	1414.	2100	1800.			2350.	
DETECTIVE	1600.	1300	1380					
SERGEANT	1400.	1144	1380	1500.		1227	1750.	656.
ROUNDSMAN	—	1300				1186		
PATROLMAN (1st YR)	1000.	1040	1080	900	1037.	1095	1250.	438
" (2nd YR)	1100.			1000.			1350.	
" (3rd YR)	1200.			1200.			1400.	
RESERVE MAN (1st YR)	731	770	780				800.	
" (2nd YR)	821.						900.	
" (3rd YR)	912						1000.	
" (4th YR)							1150.	

CHART IV.

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are incomplete because the police bureaus of those cities decline to answer communications; the other figures are from the secretaries of the departments and the London Times.